January 1953

Fellowship

MURIEL LESTER *Good Will Ambassador*

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Prospect for Peace, by A. J. Muste

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ff For many readers of this magazine, no new year could get safely a-wing without one of A. J. Muste's comprehensive glimpses at its *Prospect for Peace*. It is characteristic of "A. J." that it never occurs to him to do this annual stint in December, as a backward look over what is past. He insists, with an optimism unaffected by his own realistically gloomy appraisal of the outlook, on looking forward. . . . One of the kind of spirits periodically and unexpectedly turned up out of the turmoil of our society, and who give substance to pacifist optimism, is Acharya Vinoba Bhave, one-man land reform movement and disciple of Gandhi, whose work is described in *Walking Revolutionist*. Harold Ehrensperger, its author, is an FOR member and former editor of *motive*, now working at helping to establish India's new school of journalism. (As this issue goes to press, Bhave is desperately ill of malignant malaria.) . . . Another in the series on intentional communities, though on something of a tangent, is Claire Huchet Bishop's story of France's *Beavers at Work*. The "beavers," like their namesakes, are, of course, at work building homes for themselves. . . . And John Swomley tells what we think is a fascinating little story of what happened to him last year in Texas, in *The Pacifist and the Legion*.

FELLOWSHIP

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walking REVOLUTIONIST

by Harold Ehrensperger

A little thin man is tramping the Indian roads again. Just as Gandhiji walked from village to village five years ago to preach peace and to live it, so today Acharya Vinoba Bhave is walking

Wide World

The feet of Gandhi's disciple, 56-year-old Acharya Vinoba Bhave, are washed by one of his own disciples at the end of a long day of walking over broken and thorny ground.

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over the country to speak to the people about the peace that will come when the land belongs to the men who cultivate it. He is asking the landlords to give land voluntarily so that the tiller may till his own soil and may feel a sense of belonging to the good earth that will support him. He is preaching a nonviolent revolution because he disbelieves in the methods of the Communists. He insists that Communists have no program for India. But he also knows that unless a land reform is achieved by nonviolent means, a bloody revolution will be the inevitable result.

His program is so simple that most people laughed at it. Imagine a man in the contemporary world saying to the rich landowner, "Give me a part of your land that I may give it to the man who does not have any"! How foolish must a man be to believe that men will respond to this kind of an appeal! Yet this man's foolishness has resulted in over four hundred thousand acres of land being given to him for redistribution. His treks, begun about a year and a half ago, have caught the imagination of the people. He has gone to the people with a message of love that calls for sharing, and he has found that men respond. Perhaps nowhere else in the world could such a demonstration take place; perhaps nowhere else could the conscience of men be aroused in so dramatic a way with such a practical result.

Bhave's attempt to bring about this sharing of land is known as the Bhoo-Dan movement. "All children of the soil," it declares, "have an equal right over Mother Earth, in the same way as those born of a mother have over her. It is, therefore, essential that the entire land of the country should be equitably redistributed anew, providing roughly at least five acres of dry land or one acre of wet land to every family."

"As a well-wisher of both rich and poor," says Vinobaji, "I could feel happy only if I could make the rich look upon the poor as members of their own family. Suppose the owner of a ten-thousand acre farm has four sons, and a fifth is born later. Would he not have to make five shares of his property instead of four? I ask the landowners to regard me as an additional heir born to them and give me my share for the benefit of the poor."

So India's "additional heir" is walking from village to village to get the land. In a country where for the most part, people cannot read, and where there are not millions of radio receiving sets, the problem of getting to the people is a baffling and discouraging proposition. But not for the fifty-seven-year-old, ninety-pound ascetic. To get to the people you must go to the people. This amazing walker treads on foot "the pilgrim way," fifteen miles a day. He eats only curds and gur, and he wears a "Gandhian dress over a Tolstoyan beard." To speak to people you must know their language. Vinobaji knows eighteen languages, (he learned Persian and Arabic at forty-six), speaks most often in Hindi. But most important of all, he speaks so that people listen because he speaks as Gandhiji did, "to their condition," he appeals to their better selves, and he demonstrates his preaching by the exemplary life he leads.

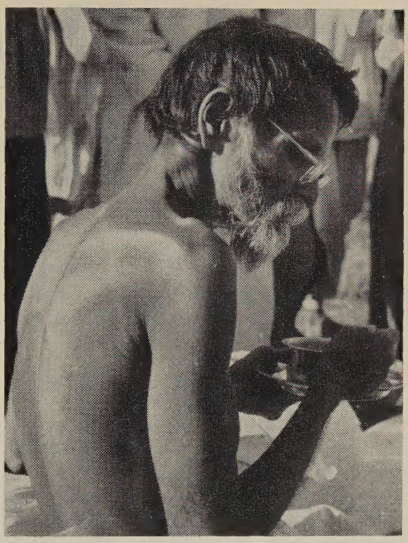
"A psychological change like

this," says the new Gandhiji, "cannot be brought about by war or violent revolution. It can only be brought about by the methods of Buddha, Christ, Ramanuja and other great teachers." The historical necessity for such a movement has been acknowledged by all groups. If the method fails—that is, if the landlords do not part with their land voluntarily—the alternative is revolution. The Acharya, therefore, wants to create the necessary atmosphere for solving the land problem. The nonviolent approach does not, however, rule out the necessity of legislation. But legislation must be backed by public opinion.

There is perpetual land hunger in India. Like any hunger, it must be satisfied. Vinobaji says that when a man is hungry, instead of wasting our time and effort on deciding which food he should take, our immediate task is to provide him with food. For the land-hungry peasant, land must be found.

In the little village of Khurhand one day not long ago he told a great gathering of villagers, "Live united and make a heaven of your village. Let every mother call her own not only those who have come out of her flesh but also all the children of the village. You cannot serve the devil and God at the same time. Similarly you cannot have private property and at the same time serve the people as one's own brothers. . . . God has profusely blessed us with all the things that are needed for a happy life. Do not make it full of suffering and unhappiness through ignorance." That day Vinobaji received 1324 acres of land as gifts.

A little man is tramping the Indian roads again. His program is as simple as the program of another man who walked the village roads and preached the joy of sharing two thousand years ago. Does it not give us strength for these difficult days to know that one man can move a nation, that nations have been moved by individuals, and that the moral strength of one man is mighty when it is the moral strength of right? Acharya Vinoba Bhave is right, and he is proving a mighty force.



Wide World

Bhave rests and sips the curd and banana squash that is a staple of his diet, sitting on the ground in New Delhi, after the day's walking.

PROSPECT FOR PEACE IN 1953

The National Secretary of the F.O.R. suggests what the outlook is for the coming year in a troubled world.

by A. J. Muste

WHERE ARE WE GOING, and what are we doing about it? A good hard look at international relations is required before we can discuss possibilities and program for the pacifist movement in the coming year.

The international situation is worsening rather than improving, at least in the sense of becoming more turbulent rather than less. The lines between so-called East and West are hardening, the cleavage tends to grow deeper.

In the United States the election of Eisenhower, though we never regarded it as the harbinger of ultimate calamity that Stevenson enthusiasts tended to think it, certainly indicates a trend to the right. It holds out no new hope for a change in the policy of "containment" and the building up of military power. The emphasis on H-bomb development and the continued hysteria over Communist infiltration in government actions and statements, and in the press, points in the same direction.

A survey of the world horizon for signs of quieting down fails to bring any to view. The chances of cease-fire in Korea are slim. The pressure on the French in Indo-China and weariness in France itself over the continuance of the Indo-Chinese struggle are increasing. On the other hand, the press suddenly begins to carry stories of Chinese Nationalists on islands between Formosa and the mainland pressing attacks on the Communist troops along the coast. This may be an indication of a plan of the Eisenhower regime to resort to use of Chiang Kai-shek's forces to offset Communist pressure in Asia. The assassination of a prominent

laborite and Nationalist leader in Tunisia on the day this is written, and continued unsettlement and strife in Iran, the Middle East, Kenya, South Africa and other spots, are further illustrations of the point.

Turning to developments in Russia and other Communist bloc countries, all the important signs point to a hardening of attitude and policy, a steadfast determination to maintain isolation, build Communist power and extend it if possible. In the current purge in Czechoslovakia and other satellite countries, it is the very people—like Slansky—who until recently were the trusted and "inside" representatives of the Kremlin who are being ruthlessly weeded out. This obviously means there is to be no relaxation of the dictatorship or softening of its methods. A second ominous sign is the rank growth of a kind of anti-Semitism and of attacks on Jews, as in the purges. Probably the main motivation for this is a desire to make capital for Russian power in the Middle East by assuring the Moslem states that Russia is not pro-Israel. Nevertheless, the thoroughly cynical way in which the anti-Jewish note is being sounded serves further to indicate, to those who may have hoped otherwise, that Communists *as Communists* and followers of the "line" are not allies in the struggle for peace and against dictatorship and terror.

Anti-Religious Agitation

Another indication of the same trend is that anti-religious activity is being stepped up in Russia and elsewhere. The Russian press is currently featuring the expulsion from the C.P. of a young woman who was married in a church ceremony, and is complaining that anti-religious agitation has been too much neglected recently. The announcement by the Vatican of the prospective elevation to the Cardinalate of the head of the Roman Catholic church in Poland was immediately followed by the arrest and indictment of a quartet of leading churchmen there on the charge of plotting against the regime. Incidentally, Poland has just withdrawn from UNESCO, leaving only two Communist countries affiliated, and these only nominally, to that cultural body.

Communist Anti-Pacifism

Lastly, an intensified anti-pacifist campaign began in the Communist press in Europe at the very time when the Vienna Peace Congress was being promoted. It constitutes, it would seem, pretty conclusive evidence that pacifists have nothing to hope for from the current Communist "peace" campaign and should not take part in the essential deception which it involves. G. E. R. Gedye, the well-known author and correspondent, has recently presented some of the evidence in dispatches from Vienna to *The Progressive* and other papers. For example, he quotes an article of a couple months ago when a Hungarian Communist paper declared: "Pacifism cannot be tolerated within the Peace Movement. The Soviet Union is the most significant power for peace, which is only denied by the warmongers. We cannot tolerate within the Peace Movement any symptoms of detrimented (sic) pacifism. . . . The military strength of the Soviet Union and the People's

Democracies is an important factor in the defense of peace." Such quotations could be multiplied indefinitely.

Basic Solutions Needed

This very sketchy survey of trends in the United States, Russia, and the rest of the world seems to confirm the view that little hope can be placed in peace activities based on the assumption that the existing powers, without undergoing any considerable change, can be gotten to make peace and live together. The fact is they keep moving apart; and it is at our peril that we shut our eyes to this. Peace activity must concentrate on radical changes within the respective nations or groups, or it will be labor lost. Secondly, peace activity must discover what are the forces, in terms of numbers, or ideology, and of moral and spiritual dynamic, that can actually confront the power of communism—for which at present there simply is no match in the world—and bring influence to bear upon both power groups against war and for peace. It is these same issues that I have raised in recent letters to Alexius, Patriarch of Moscow and all the Russias, and Professor Joliot-Curie, leader of the Communist World Peace Council and the Vienna Congress of Peoples for Peace.*

It is obviously impossible in a brief article to do more than point to a pacifist strategy that would meet these conditions. To begin with, it is clear that for genuine and effective peace action we must look to those who are supporting neither Russia nor the United States; neither the Communist nor the anti-Communist power bloc. I want briefly to explore what the possibilities are in the church or religious field, and secondly in the political field.

Communism is a tremendous spiritual force—evil in many ways, but no one can deny that is a force, with an immense impact on the minds and hearts of multitudes, and obtaining their unbounded spiritual allegiance. Nothing that can be said about the terrorism and force that communism uses to keep people in line, cancels out this other factor. Men must have, then, a faith to take its place or they will cling and increasingly go over to this one.

The Christian faith—or if it is preferred, the Judaeo-Christian—rightly understood and practiced and not merely professed, is the adequate alternative. It is hardly possible, certainly so far as the West is concerned, to conceive of any other alternative to the Communist faith and way of life. The question, therefore, is whether the Church can evolve a message that men today can understand, can break with the militarized culture of both East and West, can appear to a torn world as a truly universal society in which there is neither American nor Russian. It must go to men, and especially to Communists and those under their influence, not with the Gospel in one hand and an H-bomb in the other but with the Gospel in both hands.

In other words, especially in the months between now and the Evanston 1954 meeting of the World Council of Churches, efforts being made by the FOR, the Church Peace Mission and its Com-

* Mimeographed copies of these items can be obtained from FOR National Office on request.

mission on Christian Conscience and War, the Historic Peace Churches and others, to bring the churches to a decisive break with war and the war system, must be pursued with all possible vigor. Who can say what the nation might become capable of, if the Church gave leadership and dynamic for a great crusade against both war and communism?

As for the prospect that such a thing may actually happen, no easy optimism is possible. The case of non-pacifist Christian leaders for support of U.S. military preparations as a possible means of "preventing both war and totalitarianism" becomes increasingly weak. The same is true of the case made for participation by the Christian in war, based upon the old doctrine of the "just war" and the like. On the other hand it must, I think, be admitted that pacifism has a tougher time making headway, and that no decisive break with war based upon a new Pentecost in the Church is in sight. As Walter Marshall Horton, not a pacifist, said a couple of years ago, speaking of what men hoped would come from the Amsterdam 1948 meeting of the World Council of Churches, "They were listening for something like a Christmas carol. So far no carol has come. When it comes, it must come from the Church; in the nature of the case, it cannot come from the State."

"Sometimes, I think the reason Fignewton is so confused is because he's so well-informed . . ."

Let us turn briefly to the question as to whether on the political level there is a possibility of an effective nonviolent movement that would meet the two conditions mentioned above. It would, that is, start from the common assumption that participants in it would refuse to support either of the two chief power blocs, especially in their military activities. Secondly, it would have the numbers, intellectual soundness and moral dynamism needed in a movement to oppose both totalitarianism and war. There are three developments toward which we may look for an answer to this.

First, there are the various Neutralist movements in western Europe, brought to mind by such names as Aneurin Bevan in England, Claude Bourdet in France, Gustav Heinemann, Helene Wessel and Martin Niemöller in Germany. Whether or not they prove a genuine "third force" or "third camp" will depend, I believe, upon whether they accept a basically Gandhian or nonviolent line, adapted, of course, to the conditions of their place and time. If they fail to do this, they will either land in the American camp, or evaporate as war becomes imminent.

Aneurin Bevan's thesis, for example, is that the ratio between expenditures for defense and for social services respectively must be based on the assumption that the latter must not be cut but the former must remain "adequate." However, no nation can figure as a big player in the war game without putting down very, very big money. A nation like Britain cannot do that, continuing to support its involvement in an endless war in Malaya, without cutting the standard of living seriously. Eventually Bevan and the Bevanites will have to get out of the big war game if Britain's economic needs are to be met. What will they do in that case, if they do not develop a nonviolent means of security and defense? Similarly, the opponents of rearmament in western Germany may simply be helping to lay that land open to Communist domination unless they develop a Gandhian strategy for resistance to possible aggression and tyranny, and the dynamic that might go with the acceptance of a new set of values. There are possibilities that in western Europe revulsion against both war and Stalinism may drive large numbers to such a solution.

Third Camp in India

The second land to which we look when considering the possibility of developing a genuine "third camp" is India. There the Gandhians are more politically alert and revolutionary than was the case three or four years ago. Furthermore, the Socialist Party in India is taking a turn that is new for a Marxist party, in drawing close to the Gandhians. It has adopted a goal of a relatively decentralized economy, providing for a balance between agriculture and industry. Though not yet committed to complete nonviolence in international relations, it has made an unequivocal commitment to use nonviolence in achieving the revolution in India. In departing from the exclusively parliamentary strategy of western social democracy but adopting nonviolence rather than Leninist violence as strategy for revolution, it is marking out a new path and suggesting a genuine alternative to both communism and capitalist imperialism.

Popular Resolutions

Thirdly, possibilities of building an effective and not phony peace movement depend upon the course which the popular independence and revolutionary movements in Asia and Africa take. The colored peoples struggling for independence and a new social order have before them the great example of Gandhi. All of them are in some measure aware of and impressed by it. In spite of this, the revolution in the critical case of China went Communist. The same is true in Indo-China and Malaya. In Africa, on the other hand, there is the great example of the nonviolent movement against Malan's apartheid policy in South Africa. In the Gold Coast and Nigeria last summer our own FOR secretary, Bayard Rustin, found a strong disposition among Negro leaders to explore the possibilities of Gandhian nonviolence. Consequences beyond all present calculations depend upon whether the South Africa and West African strategy of nonviolence or that which is being used by the Mau Mau in Kenya wins the allegiance of the African masses.

Unfortunately, neither the FOR nor other pacifist organizations have as a rule had contacts among the revolutionary masses themselves, or the opportunity to influence them toward nonviolence. There has been immense value in outstanding individuals such as André Trocmé and Wilhelm Mensching and the small groups of pacifists who, no matter what happens, keep alive the witness for the way of love and nonviolence. It is not depreciating that value to point out that an opportunity to support the great popular revolutions in Asia and Africa, to effect close contact with them, to help them in developing nonviolent strategies, is one that we must avidly and gratefully seize. It is something to rejoice over that our American FOR, including some of its younger staff members such as Houser and Rustin, have pioneered in trying out Gandhian methods in race conflict here at home, and that we may by the grace of God be able, therefore, to make a critical contribution to African developments.

In conclusion, I happen to be writing this message for 1953 just three years from the time when I was in India for the World Pacifist Meeting. One of the questions I believe pacifists in this and other countries might well explore this year is whether a world gathering should take place in 1953 or 1954. It would probably not have exactly the same general character as that of 1949. It would bring together pacifists of various kinds, Gandhians, etc., who start with faith in nonviolence but wish to make it effective in the social and political arena; and on the other hand, elements such as we have mentioned—Neutralists in Europe, Socialists or former Socialists, leaders of independence movements in Asia and Africa—who start with a concern for national independence, racial equality and a just social order but have come to doubt the efficacy of violence for bringing these things about and are, therefore, ready to weigh seriously the possibility of nonviolence. Out of such a gathering might come forces to struggle against both war and totalitarianism, a genuine Third Force to provide an alternative to the present rival and suicidal policies of advancing totalitarianism by violence and war or seeking to contain and overcome it by violence and war.

COVER GIRL

The lady on our cover this month is one of pacifism's best known and most widely loved personalities. Muriel Lester has spent the greater part of her life traveling almost constantly as an ambassador of good will, dining with potentates and outcastes, organizing new Fellowship groups and encouraging old ones, building a faith in peace and in God wherever she goes. She came to this country again just before Christmas and will be here until May.

Beavers at Work

In building homes, as in many other things, French workers are finding that working together is the best way to get the job done.

by Claire Huchet Bishop

Beavers work on a new cooperative housing project at Bordeaux

IN FRANCE, as in many other countries, old houses are crumbling, no building work was done between 1939 and 1945, many houses were destroyed by the war, and the population increased. Even after World War I the housing problem was noticeable. As far back as 1921 it began to look as if building for "profit" did not bring profit any more. Consequently, capitalists became more and more reluctant to invest their money in this field. Several attempts were then made by the French government to remedy this situation, but it was only in 1947, when the accumulation of bad living conditions threatened the nation's economy, that an effectual law was enacted for the purpose of enticing capital into building investments.

Unfortunately, even this laudable governmental initiative has proved insufficient. Not only did the credits asked for fail to come near the estimated requirements of 300,000 homes a year—the amount actually aimed at was only 100,000 homes—but even that paltry project did not come through. Five hundred million dollars were

necessary for it, but because of pressing armaments expenditures, the government voted only $157. million for housing in 1951. Since then, M. Pinay has made further drastic cuts in that amount. One need only see a family of five parked in one room without any conveniences whatsoever to understand why the French workers dislike the USA-sponsored rearmament program.

Yet, no matter how meager the government appropriation, it does help the situation, and a number of individuals and organizations avail themselves of the opportunity thus created. Many financing plans, with long-range payments up to 65 years, have come into existence. However, every one of them requires at least a small financial output at the start. The loan cannot be secured unless this initial amount is contributed first.

The average cost for a four-room house and lot (living-room, two bedrooms, kitchen, bath) is approximately two million francs, or $5,714. Through one of the controlled government agencies, the future owner can get a loan of about $4,572, provided he can first contribute $1,143 of his own.

This may sound to us in America quite reasonable and within easy reach, but the problem in France is precisely that those who are desperately in need of a place to live are unable to meet this modest requirement.

The yearly income of an average French worker in 1951 amounted to about this:

Wages	$740
Govern. Indem. for two children	$334
TOTAL	$1074

Official statistics give $1,768 as the minimum income necessary to meet the elementary needs of a family of four. It is evident that it is out of the question for the average French worker to contribute the initial $1,143 that would make it possible for him to get the loan and build a home. In response to this problem, the cooperative builders have sprung up.

The formula is not new. It is well known here in America, and in Germany, Holland, Poland, Russia and especially in Sweden. In France itself, successful attempts were made in 1921 and in the '30s.

The principle is the same everywhere: important saving through buying wholesale raw material, and cutting down on the cost of labor by having the buyers themselves contribute manual work in their spare time.

Initial Fund Needed

This formula was adopted by a French group of workers in the city of Bordeaux in 1948, but the problem of the initial fund remained. It was then that, hard-pressed by necessity, they devised a plan. The required output was lacking, but what about making up its value in labor contributed by the members of the group? Could the government be persuaded to recognize this labor as the financial equivalent of the initial fund required to get a loan? If the people pledged themselves to contribute an amount of labor evaluated by competent authority as covering the original financial requirement, would the government recognize it as such beforehand and allow the loan to go through?

Surprisingly enough, the government did accept the plan. And so it

was that unobtrusively, in 1948, and for the first time in France, an aspect of labor moved officially into equal financial recognition with capital. Truly these Bordeaux workers were building their own homes. They called themselves *Les Castors,* The Beavers.

So far so good. To contribute one's own manual labor in order to pay the initial amount was one thing. It was evident to the realistic French workers, however, that the members could not get along entirely on their own. No one was a born contractor. Technical competence was necessary, or the houses would be hit-or-miss jobs put up by "Sunday" amateur builders, which would almost certainly prove unsatisfactory. The Beavers decided that what the owners, or future owners, could contribute most effectively was the unskilled labor, of which a considerable amount was necessary, but that they needed professional builders as well.

This particular way of managing, practically and efficiently, the building problem by and for "have nots," is, to my knowledge, quite unique, and constitutes an original contribution to cooperative building plans the world over.

Common Need Felt

The second characteristic of the Beavers is that from the start they felt strongly that it was not a question of each family building his own place, but of a group of families getting together in order to build a community, everyone working in teams whenever free time was available. As I indicated in *All Things Common,** it is this moving out of the concept of egotistically securing one's own comfort through cooperative facilities, that makes it possible to place the Beavers within the general pattern of the communitarian movement in France. There is a vivid realization of the necessity of building and living a fellowship through the manual labor of building the houses.

It should be pointed out that this attitude is a daily experience, and not an *a priori* intellectual attitude. No one joining the Beavers is required to make any declaration of faith, even the workers' familiar one of intending to search and build for man's liberation from the material and moral servitudes imposed upon him by modern society. However, those who come together have suffered bitterly from living in slums. They are men who, in the words of the farsighted and dynamic general secretary, Michel Anselme, "have understood that nothing but the united effort of men can elevate and free man." Hence it comes to pass that whoever joins the Beavers, be he humanist, Christian, Jewish, Moslem, Buddhist, atheist, Communist, colored or colorless, is naturally interested in building something that will further the developmen of man. That includes not only physical and material conditions, but active human relationships for a common purpose, which alone bring fulness to daily living.

In other words, what gives the Beavers' movement its full and distinctive value is the "dream." They would probably be quite annoyed at hearing this, clear, level-headed working people as they are. But it is this vision within that

* Published by Harper and Bros., 1951.

marks them as people of the coming era. Just as in the Communities of Work,** the goal is not production nor getting rich together, so with the Beavers the goal is not to produce houses, nor to get comfortable cooperatively. It is the search, the gradual discovery of a new way of life, the creation and building of the community of tomorrow where men will assume directly the full responsibility of the fulness of their life as men.

Building a Beaver house is neither a matter of just getting a shelter, nor is it a next step to better living. Those who go in for it have been in dire circumstances for a long time. They have tasted the bitterness not only of extreme physical discomfort, but also the loneliness of man in our present-day society. They feel in their very bones that no multiplication of material improvements, no increase in acquisition of technical devices, can ever, alone, satisfy the deep hunger in their hearts. Only the common purpose, the active search for a new way of life can do it.

New Patterns Emerge

They do not say that much. They just live it. In this daily unrehearsed performance not only houses, but new social, civic and spiritual patterns begin to take shape. New world islands in the midst of the old, Beaver villages emerge all over France. Started by five families in 1948, there are now six main groupings of Beavers: north, south-west, west, east, south-east and center. It is constantly growing: the general secretary receives an average of four hundred inquiries monthly. Groups vary from 10 to 160 families. A Beaver center of one thousand units is planned outside of Paris, in the woods of St. Cloud. Such size provides for diversity without ceasing to be a face-to-face world, which remains one of the Beavers' concerns.

Within the Communities of Work proper, some families are Beavers. On the other hand some Communities of Work have themselves taken the initiative of a Beaver group. In both cases it means that *some* "companions" are scattered among a Beaver group. It never means that a Beaver group is made up entirely of "companions." The typically French communitarian concern for complete unsectarianism is again discernible here.

Variety of Plans

This attitude is reflected also in the marked variety of plans both for houses and landscaping. Different raw materials are used according to the region, and taste enters into it as well. There are some prefabricated houses, but the French prefer more lasting and substantial materials such as bricks or stone. It is very interesting to study some of the blueprints established from 1948 on. They show how gradually the search for a new way of life led to finding how to break from the row monotony, to secure privacy of vistas, to utilize natural contours and trees, to arrange for a no-traffic space around the houses for the children's sake, to avoid traffic noises near the houses by locating stores within walking distances, etc.

Such are a few of the most immediate and most obvious results

(*Continued on page 32*)

** Fellowship, April, 1952.

They came prepared to heckle a "Communist." They stayed for an experience in reconciliation.

by John Swomley

The PACIFIST and the Legion

LAST SUMMER I arrived in Houston, Texas, to be greeted with the news that the American Friends Service Committee, for whom I was to speak, was under fire, and had been accused of being Communist. Spearheading the attack on the Friends' Institute of International Relations were a group from the American Legion's Americanism Committee and an organization called the "Minute Women." They had distributed to the press and to others a mimeographed sheet attacking the Institute and some of the speakers individually.

The mimeographed statement included comments like the following:

"It is becoming increasingly evident that the AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE, founded many years ago by sincere and honorable pacifists, has come under the domination of the coalition-left, and no longer represents old-line Quakers.

"According to the 1938 edition of Un-American Activities in the United States, House of Representatives, page 362, the AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE at its primary meeting in Holland declared that 'they were working for the supersession of Capitalism and Imperialism by the establishment of a New Social and International Order.'

"While the FRIENDS have been holding Institutes for many years in many sections of the Country, their first meeting in Houston was held last June. Clarence Streit, author of UNION NOW, was a featured speaker. Mr. Streit still advocated a British-American merger despite the shabby way England has done business with Soviet Russia and Red China.

". . . Alger Hiss, between trials

attended a summer session of the FRIENDS in Vermont. He made a speech advocating World Government.

"Scheduled to appear at Autry House next month is Anna Lord Strauss, chosen along with Philip Jessup, Channing Tobias and Eleanor Roosevelt as a delegate to the recent UN General Assembly. The Un-American Activities Committee, Special Report March 20, 1944, page 155, lists Mrs. Strauss as a sponsor of CONSUMER'S NATIONAL FEDERATION, which was cited as an agency of the Communist Party for spreading propaganda in schools and through women's clubs.

"John Swomley will speak at the Institute. Swomley was present at the 1951 session. In the literature of the NATIONAL COUNCIL AGAINST CONSCRIPTION, he is listed as secretary of this organization. The California Committee on Un-American Activities, 1948 says: 'There are no humane or religious purposes achieved by Communist organizations in this field. Soviet Russia and its Imperialist expansionist policies alone are served while the United States is kept weak and impotent and of course that is the purpose behind the NATIONAL COUNCIL AGAINST CONSCRIPTION. . . .'"

Immediately upon arrival I was interviewed by representatives of the press, to whom I made clear both my objection to communism and to the tactics of the American Legion. I pointed out that the National Council Against Conscription and the Fellowship of Reconciliation which I represented were well known for their opposition to the totalitarianism and militarism of the Soviet Union as well as to our own American militarism and our infringement of civil liberties.

The Houston Chronicle reported that "A letter from the Legion Committee was sent to Episcopal Bishop Clinton S. Quinn" urging him "to keep the Institute from using the facilities of Autry House," an Episcopal center near Rice Institute. The letter, said *The Chronicle*, pointed out that "the sponsoring American Friends Service Committee has to do 'with activities commonly considered un-American.' Bishop Quinn, however, refused to grant the request, saying, 'I checked with authorities . . . my conscience is clear.'"

Warned of "Fireworks"

Olcutt Sanders, the calm and effective secretary of the Service Committee in Texas, warned me that since I was to be the opening speaker I should expect "fireworks," including heckling and accusations from the floor. He also suggested that I use a manuscript so that there would be a record of what I had said.

For the first time in my life I wrote and read a speech. Despite the dullness of the speech, the meeting was electric. For an hour and a half I was besieged with questions and accusations. Because of a casual reference to racism, a woman in the audience demanded an apology to white womanhood. A man accused me of being a Communist and started up the aisle to the rear exit. When I asked him if he could define communism, including the meaning of dialectical materialism, he was unable to do so. He accepted my invitation to return to his seat and listen to a brief description of communism.

During the entire meeting only one question was asked by a person not identified with the Legion or Minute Women group.

The Houston Chronicle described the meeting in these words:

"Charges of advocating 'communism and treason' rang out against the speaker as the second annual Institute of International Relations opened before an audience of more than 100 persons Thursday night.

"The accused was John M. Swomley, a director of the National Council Against Conscription and a Methodist minister.

"The accuser at first identified himself only as 'an Episcopalian who came to hear what I thought would be a religious meeting.' He was seated in a tight group of about 20 persons led by John P. Rogge, chairman of the un-American activities committee of the Houston Central Council of the American Legion.

"Right" vs. "Left"

"It was noted the 'minute-men' from the Legion seated themselves on the extreme right of the room —while those who supported Mr. Swomley with thunderous applause occupied the left side.

". . . Mr. Swomley traced man's search for security through the ages, saying that only 'in the last generation has the search for security become an obsession. We are witnessing an insecurity brought on by the sins of imperialism, nationalism, wealth and racism,' he said, and added that security cannot be obtained from basing the search on those items. 'Security cannot be purchased at the expense of someone else's insecurity,' the speaker said.

"He pointed up the imperialism of Russia and America, 'the two great rival powers left,' the intense nationalism spreading through countries of the world, the races held in subjugation or exploited by imperialism and great wealth.

"He denounced the Legion's attack on himself, saying that it was only because he was a pacifist, opposed to universal military training—which is ardently sponsored by the American Legion.

"At that point a woman spectator angrily stamped from the room and turned to shake her fist at the speaker."

The Houston Post in a similar report on the heckling, stated:

"Another dissenter, William E. Loose, asked if Mr. Swomley thought the Russians would 'answer the call' if America disarmed, stopped teaching nationalism, and started praying. 'I do believe God is more powerful than Stalin,' Mr. Swomley replied.

"Another questioner asked Mr. Swomley if he meant 'Americanism' when he advocated stamping out nationalism. The speaker said he yielded to no one in his Americanism if one meant by Americanism 'the principle that freedom and democracy are a way of life.' But he said he did not approve of the 'Americanism' of the House Committee on Un-American Activities or the American Legion's Committee on un-American activities."

Physical Violence

The *Chronicle* story was carried on the front page with a headline "CRY RED AT SPEAKER HERE." The next night the meeting room was filled, the Legion represented as before. This time the Friends Service Committee was accused of

being listed as Communist. Following the meeting, one burly Legionnaire came up and accused Anna Lord Strauss of being a Communist. Because his attitude was so menacing I said quietly to him, "Take it easy, friend." He grabbed my hand and arm and forced me down on the floor, but I shook loose in time to discourage two equally burly citizens of Houston from grabbing my Legion attacker!

A Reconciling Note

About ten minutes later, in the hope of introducing a note of reconciliation into the situation, I asked my opponent of a few minutes before if he would come over to the other side of the room to talk privately with me. After convincing him that I was sincerely opposed to communism I asked him if he had enough faith in democracy that he could talk with a Communist and not be converted to communism. He assured me he did. Whereupon I asked him if he felt he knew enough about democracy to be able to discuss it with a Communist and win him to it. Again he said yes. Then I asked him why, if he thought we were Communists, didn't he follow that procedure with us? I also asked him if he thought his actions during and following the meeting would convince us we were wrong or would entrench us more firmly in our position. He felt the latter was more likely. Then I asked whether he thought the audience had been won to his position or antagonized by it. He said he guessed he had antagonized them.

To my surprise, he reached out his hand to mine, told me he was sorry for what he had done, and that he would not return to cause any more trouble.

The success of this effort convinced me that individuals alone are much more decent and friendly than when functioning as a mob. So I invited the second of the three chief leaders of the Legion for a private talk. This man, a major in World War I, well over six feet tall, was a real man, full of courage, and genuinely interested in democracy. He didn't say much after our talk, but he continued to attend Institute sessions. Two nights later, he sought me out while I was talking to a newspaper reporter. In the reporter's presence he said: "Swomley, I want you to know that I'm sorry for the way I've acted at this Institute. I've learned a lot here. And while I don't agree with you I really believe you are working for the best interests of our country as much as I am," and turning, he left.

The Tide Turns

The following and closing night of the Institute he was present early. He stood at the door when a group of his Legion comrades brought a 12-foot American flag to the building to hold a "loyalty meeting" in the same room where the Institute was being held. I was not present at the time, but Adam Ristead of the Friends staff told me my Legion friend said to the group: "You aren't going to bring the flag in here." When they insisted they were, he said: "Then I'll not be a party to it. And if you do I'll fight you in the Legion." After a few minutes of hesitation the group turned and took the flag back to the car. Nor did they disrupt the meeting.

Following the meeting a group of about thirty Legionnaires and Minute Women gathered talking on the lawn outside. They were bemoaning the way the closing speaker had "dodged" their questions. I joined them in their commiseration, for I too had felt their questions had not been adequately answered. For an hour and a half, with many from the Institute listening a few feet away, the Legion group asked questions. Their questions were no longer intended as barbs but were genuine seekings for information. One of my most bitter hecklers of the first night asked, "What *is* the difference between communism and socialism?" Another wanted to know why sincere non-Communists opposed the House Un-American Activities Committee.

A Religious Experience

None of the group was converted to pacifism that weekend. There were no prayers or singing on the lawn that night; yet more than one of us had a religious experience. Many of the Legionnaires no longer looked upon us with hostility, and we saw each of them as an individual sincere in his "defense" of democracy as he understood it.

An experience like this demonstrates the value of going directly to one's opponents to try to establish a deeper level of understanding. It demonstrates also that the individual, when separated from the group, is a much more reasonable person than he is when stimulated by mob psychology. Even in dealing with a group, as John Wesley revealed on various occasions, it is sometimes possible by speaking directly to an individual leader to isolate him morally and psychologically from the original purpose of the mob.

The Houston Institute experience would not have been possible without a loyal group such as the interracial audience who on the first night showed their support of free speech by their applause, and who at each subsequent meeting by their frequent friendly and intelligent questions never permitted the meetings to become simply a sounding board for the Legion. They showed that calmness and stability are "catching" just as fear and hysteria are. Perhaps one of the functions of pacifists and near-pacifists in these days of hysteria is to create a climate of calmness. Beyond that we can also seek to penetrate the fear that moves some of our fellow-citizens by helping to renew their faith in the democratic process.

THOUGHT FOR 1953

The Communism of combined wealth and capital, the outgrowth of overweening cupidity and selfishness which assiduously undermines the justice and integrity of free institutions, is not less dangerous than the communism of oppressed poverty and toil, which, exasperated by injustice and discontent, attacks with wild disorder the citadel of misrule.

—GROVER CLEVELAND
Dec. 8, 1888.

News from the Peace Front

Whites Take Up Resistance in South Africa; Report on Outbreaks

The "Resist Unjust Laws" campaign in South Africa spread, in early December, to take in a group of white people and others who had hitherto stood apart from the campaign. On December 8 Manilal Gandhi and Patrick Duncan, son of a former Governor General of the Union of South Africa, led a group of thirty-seven, six of them white, into a Negro location without permits. There, to the crowd of Africans who gathered, Mr. Duncan made a speech urging them to keep the resistance campaign nonviolent.

Manilal Gandhi, son of Mohandas Gandhi and the editor of *Indian Opinion,* had kept apart from the civil disobedience campaign at its beginning, because he felt the Africans were too untrained and inexperienced to keep it nonviolent. After about three months he wrote that he was amazed at their wonderful spirit; and he has now indicated his faith in it by taking part himself. Patrick Duncan resigned from the British colonial service in Basutoland in order to take part in the resistance movement.

The day after Gandhi and Duncan and their companions were arrested, four more whites were arrested. They entered the General Post Office in Cape Town and went to the non-European section, from which they sent a telegram to Premier Daniel F. Malan protesting racial segregation.

Early in December, also, word was received from South Africa about the riots that had taken place earlier in Port Elizabeth, Kimberley, East London and Johannesburg. When news items first appeared here, it was feared that the nonviolence campaign had broken down, and that the resisters had lost control. Later reports, however, make it clear that the rioting was not done by those engaged in the campaign, and that police had frequently acted in a provocative manner, usually both before and after the riots. A report gathered from eye-witnesses by Mr. Harry F. Warner in South Africa tells in some detail how each of the riots started and what actions were taken by police. The Kimberley story is typical.

"At Kimberley there had been dissatisfaction about the management of the Municipal beer hall, and a boycott had been organized. In enforcing the boycott, an argument took place with some Africans who wanted to enter the beer hall. A policeman assaulted a woman by hitting her on the head with his handcuffs. This infuriated the bystanders and they began throwing stones; then they overturned and burnt a Municipal lorry parked nearby. A bus-load of police armed with rifles and sten guns arrived and although their arrival put an end to all disturbances, they fired point blank into the crowd of Africans gathered

around the beer hall. Then, as in East London, they drove through the streets of the location firing at anyone they saw and into the houses. Among those killed was a woman carrying a six-months-old baby on her back. Then, having stirred up the entire location, they returned to the police station. After that furious mobs set fire to the location offices, the beer hall, and other evidences of the white man's administration."

In East London, one African was killed while sitting in his kitchen reading a newspaper. Another was killed and two wounded while having a beer party in a house. In Port Elizabeth as well, police roamed the streets in lorries, firing into houses and at anyone they saw.

In Johannesburg a hostel was besieged and its inhabitants picked off by police when they came out. Rents had been increased by the Municipality by 80 percent, and a man who attempted to pay the increase was chased by a crowd, which also broke some windows throwing stones. As soon as police arrived the stone-throwing stopped, but police gathered outside and sniped at the tenants. When, at intervals, the people inside decided police had left, and ventured out to pick up the wounded, they were picked off.

"There is one thing the police have learnt from the events," writes Warner, "—how to stir up a riot. There is in all the locations and townships a feeling of dumb frustration and subdued anger which requires only a spark to set it off." All meetings have been forbidden, and many of the leaders of the campaign are in jail. The fact that white liberals have chosen, at precisely this juncture, to enter the campaign, would seem to be an indication that they feel the nonviolent spirit of the campaign, and its essential rightness, are still valid.

Hutterite Refuser Case Dismissed

Andrew Wurtz, a member of the Hutterite Miller Ranch Colony near Choteau, Montana, refused induction into the armed forces for the second time and was brought to trial. On October 14, in U.S. District Court, his case was dismissed. Wurtz maintained that "God forbids me to enter the Army."

In 1950 he also refused to be inducted, after being placed in IA, and was arrested. He was brought to trial but was acquitted because his draft board had classified him IA and ordered him to report for induction before receiving his CO Form 150, when he had clearly indicated his conscientious objection and requested the form.

Scholarship Service for Interracial Colleges

The National Scholarship Service and Fund was founded in 1947 to help Negro students gain admission and scholarships at nonsegregated colleges. Since then the Service has assisted over 1,800 Negro students in one way or another, and helped them to win scholarships totalling almost $300,000.

During the past couple of years a new possibility has opened up—that of placing white students in schools that have hitherto been entirely or predominantly Negro. The Scholarship Service is there-

fore expanding its program, and will now help to place either white or Negro students in interracial colleges.

Anyone interested in further information or in assistance of one kind or another can write the National Scholarship Service and Fund at 31 West 110th Street, New York 26, New York.

German Christians Discuss War Refusal

At the great Protestant Church Day in the late summer, attended by scores of thousands of Protestants from the Western zones of Germany—possible thousands from the Eastern zone had been prevented from attending—there was one huge study group of 5,000 that considered the attitude of the Church toward political and social problems. The German newspaper *Frankfurter Zeitung* reported that addresses by leading laymen, including members of the Bonn cabinet, "precipitated a discussion on the question of participation in defense and refusal to bear arms, although the leading speakers had confined themselves to general principles and had not touched on these concrete issues at all. A 'free-for-all' broke out about the role of the Christian in putting theories into practice. There was a flood of questions, and it was obvious that many had come with the resolve to talk frankly from the heart on these matters."

The *Frankfurter Zeitung* report makes it clear that attempts to use traditional interpretations of Biblical texts to discourage conscientious objection to war participation met with opposition from the participants. "There was evidence of considerable alarm over the rapid and widespread discussion of war service and the refusal of war service, and regret on the part of a few that the discussion had developed at all."

Indian Socialist Party Largest in World

The Indian Socialist Party recently effected a merger with the Kisan Mazdoor Praja Party—the Peoples Peasant and Workers Party—a movement committed to a Gandhian social and economic program and many of whose leaders, such as J. B. Kripalani, are disciples of Gandhi. Some of the outstanding leaders of the Socialist Party were also closely associated with Gandhi and sympathetic to his program, including Devam, Narayan, Lohia and Mehta. They became convinced that, under existing Indian social conditions, the philosophy of social change was especially adapted to assimilation with the Gandhi program of decentralization, self-help, small-scale farming, village industries, etc., and of the value of the practice of nonviolence as a method of social change.

The new Praja Socialist Party, it is reported, will be numerically the largest socialist party in the world, with over 17 million members—four million more than the British Labor Party.

The French Communist newspapers *L'Humanité* and *Ce Soir* have dropped drastically in circulation between 1946 and 1952. *L'Humanité* went from 530,000 to 195,000 and *Ce Soir* from 590,000 to 130,000.

Answers Bid to Peace Council

In a letter to M. Pierre Joliot-Curie, French Communist leader and head of the World Council of Peace, a Communist-led, world-wide, anti-war organization, A. J. Muste replied to an invitation to the FOR to participate in a Congress of the Peoples for Peace in Vienna last month. Mr. Muste recognized that the idea of wide cooperation between organizations throughout the world that worked for peace was an excellent one, but raised the question of whether a conference called by the World Council of Peace (and largely organized and financed by it), which had been so closely linked to the Communists, was not indelibly stamped in advance as the child of the Council. He felt that for a genuinely fresh and democratically cooperative approach to joint action, a representative group of organizations, not just one, would have to work together from the beginning. He also raised questions about the declaration of M. Joliot-Curie that "the Congress of Peoples cannot be a platform for discussing the virtues of particular systems or ways of life," since he felt that any genuine discussion of peace must inevitably involve a consideration of basic economic and political questions.

Wisconsin Clergymen Oppose "McCarthyism"

In a statement to the public just before the election, almost half of all the Methodist clergymen in Wisconsin, home state of Senator Joseph McCarthy, reaffirmed their opposition to his techniques. The statement was inspired by reports which the 133 ministers said were being circulated that "a great majority of religious leaders and clergymen" were supporting McCarthy. They reaffirmed a previous statement by the Methodist Conference there decrying the "tendency to limit the expression of variant ideas and opinions and even of factual information. . . . The techniques [which they disapproved] take the form of social rejection, calling of names, demands for 'loyalty oaths,' denial of employment, irresponsible accusations and assertion of 'guilt by association'."

FOR Council Discusses Program, Membership

The FOR National Council met in New York's Broadway Tabernacle December 4-6 to discuss the work of the organization and what its future program should be.

MEMBERSHIP: One of the earliest items on the agenda was the report of a drop in the membership during the past two years. Because the FOR does not have the staff or time to keep track of the income and outgo of members in such a way that they can be analyzed elaborately, it is difficult to tell just why the drop occurred and what kind of a trend it represents. Council members pointed out that the total number of COs has not dropped; and that the American Civil Liberties Union, for example, is growing. Others noted that the bulk of COs now are coming from the Peace Churches, in most of which the FOR does not have many members; that COs in the Method-

ist Church, for example, have declined; that the general atmosphere discourages people from taking an unpopular stand; and that many people who are pacifists fail to join an organization because they do not feel there is any way to deal effectively with the national and international situation. The Council voted various measures for getting new members and instructed the staff to give some additional thought to this problem. It decided to give top priority in staff time to membership during 1953.

REGIONAL REORGANIZATION PLAN: The staff presented a plan for the reorganization of the regions into considerably smaller geographical units, based on the past experience of regional secretaries. It would make possible more concentrated work in areas that now have little FOR work going on, and greater cultivation of the membership at the grass roots level. Each region would have its own executive secretary, an office secretary, and a regional committee to plan and help to carry out the work. It was suggested that the present Midwest region be divided into three; the South would be a region; and New England, centering around Boston, and New York, centering around New York City, would be other regions. One of the new Midwest regions, (in addition to the one now headed by Ab Watson which centers on Chicago), the Southern region, and the New York and New England regions would be opened as soon after January 1 as it was possible to find personnel.

The program could not be adopted, it was felt, unless an additional sum of $30,000 above and beyond the present budget could be raised or pledged toward this specific purpose for the two first years of the program. A substantial proportion of that amount was in sight, and the Council decided to adopt the proposed plan, with details, such as the exact outlines of each region, to be worked out later.

ELECTED TO COUNCIL: The thirteen people elected or re-elected to the National Council in the balloting were Corinne Bowers, William W. Clark, Ralph E. Cook, Francis B. Hall, Cecil E. Hinshaw, Van Cleve Johnson, Frank R. Keller, Claud D. Nelson, Emily Parker Simon, Lyle Tatum, Clyde W. Teter, William O. Tilenius, and Robert F Weiskotten. Officers elected for the calendar year 1953 were John Oliver Nelson, Chairman; Charles R. Lawrence, Culbert Rutenber, and Arthur Swift, Vice-Chairmen; Corinne Bowers, Frank Keller, Claud Nelson, Lyle Tatum, Clyde Teter, William Tilenius, Robert Weiskotten, J. Martin England, DeWitte Wyckoff, John W. Thomas, Loren Walters, Franklin Koch, Phillips Elliott, Wendell Hughes, and E. A. Schaal, Executive Committee, plus representatives from Boston, (George Paine), New York, (Constance Muste Hamilton), and Philadelphia.

IFOR: Douglas Steere, representing the American IFOR Committee, presented a roundup of IFOR activity in Europe and South America. Elly Mayr, daughter of Kaspar Mayr of Austria, was also present, on the last lap of an extensive speaking tour around the country for the FOR.

CARE has distributed $3,250.000 worth of free food and clothing packages in the past five years. CARE is a cooperative and this money represents the "profits" from its regular business.

Minister Protests Surveillance of Meeting

The Rev. Alan Peabody, FOR member and minister of the Riverside Salem Evangelical and Reformed Church in Buffalo, recently protested to the mayor of Buffalo against the conspicuous surveillance by police of a meeting held in his church at which Scott Nearing spoke. Two policemen who, he thought, were members of the subversive squad, attended the meeting and were afterwards "very conspicuous in walking up and down in front of the church, apparently taking the numbers of cars parked in the vicinity, and also apparently taking the names of people who had attended the meeting. . . ." The meeting was one of a regular Sunday evening forum series put on by the church.

Mr. Peabody outlined Scott Nearing's background in his letter to the mayor, pointing out that while his ideas were unorthodox, he could hardly be considered as part of a movement to overthrow the government by force and violence, since he and his wife were both pacifists. Mr. Peabody then went on to say that the forum speakers represented a variety of viewpoints, none of which the entire congregation would agree with. "The purpose of the program," he continued, "is to present to the people new ideas in order to challenge their thinking and to compel them to test their own beliefs. The programs in their broadest sense are part of our process of religious education."

Before concluding, he added that the atmosphere of the times made people fearful that their presence at a meeting might later be construed as subversive, and that some members of the church had mentioned the surveillance and their sense of fear. He urged the mayor to prevent a recurrence.

Village Industries Suffer in India

In a dispatch from the headquarters of the land-distribution movement at Sevagram, India, the difficulties of the movement for the promotion of village industries were outlined. Although the production of homespun cloth has been reduced during the last six months, a great deal of cloth and yarn are lying unsold throughout the country, and many spinners have been thrown out of work.

In order to insure employment to all the villagers, they suggested a four-point program. 1. Some land should be given to every villager in addition to some work in a cottage industry; 2. All the processes of producing articles of primary necessity such as food, clothing and shelter, should be done in the village itself; 3. The government should be requested to see that the village industries do not suffer from the competition of mill-made articles, and a boycott of such articles be instituted if necessary; 4. Those who have land should donate it to the land-distribution campaign begun by Vinoba Bhave.

A Reformed Jewish congregation and a Russian Orthodox group are using the facilities of the Washington (Episcopal) Cathedral. Dean of the Cathedral is the Very Rev. Francis B. Sayre, nephew of IFOR's Nevin Sayre.

Fellowship Cards Hit New Mark

Sales of the 1952 Christmas cards published by the Fellowship of Reconciliation reached a total of 243,000, more than twice the previous high of 110,000 in 1951. Proceeds from the sale of the cards, which are printed right in the national office of the FOR, go to Fellowship's work for peace here and abroad.

The Christmas card project, begun a few years ago as a means of raising a little extra money for the War Victims Fund, is proving to be an important means of bringing the work of the FOR to the attention of thousands of Americans who had not known of it before.

The national office sent descriptive brochures to more than 40,000 nonmembers, while members of the Fellowship themselves sent more than 12,000 additional brochures to friends. In addition to the several thousand of these persons who ordered cards, many orders were received from people to whom Fellowship cards had been sent in previous years, and who were impressed by them. Many such orders were accompanied by inquiries about the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

Requests for permission to reprint the text of the cards also were fairly heavy, with most requests for the text of "The Carol that Never Was Sung," the story by Alfred Hassler that appeared in the Christmas, 1951, issue of *Collier's*. This appeared this year in *Scholastic*, the Reading *Labor Advocate* and the National Y.W.C.A. magazine, as well as in numerous church bulletins and local papers. The Y.W.C.A. version was in the form of a pageant built around the story by the Lima, Ohio, "Y", and was used by several other branches also.

Church of Christ Opposes War

The Church of Christ of which Alexander Campbell was a leading figure opposes war in any form, and has sent a representative to Washington to testify against UMT at hearings in Congress. Their statement reads in part:

"This is to certify that we Churches of Christ are conscientiously opposed to participation in war in any form. Our belief in the Supreme Being involves duties superior to those arising from any human relation. . . .

"We do not know of an active minister in these Churches of Christ who does not oppose Christians participating in carnal warfare. These Churches of Christ are not to be confused with many which wear the same name; we constitute a distinct fellowship.

"We submit this that all may know our position relative to our opposing participation in carnal warfare, and that we might be recognized as a distinct group or fellowship which now is and in the past has been 'a peace church' to use modern terminology."

Mr. and Mrs. Carl Shermer, FOR members of Lansing, Michigan, left in August for Turkey, where Mr. Shermer will be a Fulbright exchange professor for a year.

Jottings

Eight leading figures in religious instruction at the University of the South in Sewanee, Tennessee, have resigned their academic positions as of next June, because the University's School of Theology continues to refuse to admit Negroes. The eight, seven of whom are Episcopal clergymen, include the dean and six faculty members of the seminary, and the chaplain of the university.

The Railway Review, official organ of the National Union of Railwaymen in England, with nearly half a million members, has taken a prominent stand in deploring the military solution of international problems. President of the Union is H. W. Franklin, an avowed pacifist. Frank G. Moxley, editor of the *Review*, is also sympathetic.

In all of South Korea, early this year, there were 250 homes for orphans, housing a total of 25,000 children, only one-fourth of the number of homeless waifs, according to an estimate by the Social Ministry.

The Heifer Project Committee of the Brethren has sent about 12,000 heifers and goats from the U.S. to 21 other countries in the past eight years.

Two Quaker representatives went to Korea in November to investigate possibilities for beginning Quaker relief services there. Hitherto only the United Nations has been allowed to administer relief there.

The Philadelphia FOR, of which Charles Walker is Executive Secretary, has been holding neighborhood meetings in members' homes. A speaker gives a picture of the work of the city group, and members in turn give their opinions, reactions and suggestions.

Immigration officials are evidently following a policy of picking up the passports of Americans who attend any of the Peace Conferences in other countries that are suspected of being Communist inspired or sponsored. Latest passports seized were those of Mr. and Mrs. Edwin H. Cerney of Menlo Park, California, who were reported to have attended a peace conference in China in October.

The news item that Robert Lewis, bombardier of the plane which dropped the atom bomb on Hiroshima, had gone into a monastery, has been contradicted by the official Catholic news service.

Fyke Farmer, pacifist lawyer and world government advocate, has applied for the position of successor to Trygve Lie as Secretary General of the United Nations. Although Mr. Farmer probably does not anticipate favorable action on his application, he has taken the opportunity to present his ideas of what the United Nations could and should accomplish, and what steps might be taken to deal with the present world situation.

Books

For Those in the World

Introduction to the Devout Life, by Francis de Sales, translated by John K. Ryan. Harper and Brothers, 1952. 255 pp, $3.50.

Once again Francis de Sales' famous *Introduction to the Devout Life* has been translated from French into English. Since it was first published in 1609 this little volume has been one of the most popular pieces of devotional literature known to the Christian world. Reading the new translation convinces me that it is deservedly one of the top-ranking classics of spiritual instruction and has successfully fulfilled the intent of its author to furnish a rule of life suitable for persons "living in the world." More than three centuries ago it brought the spiritual life, the life of prayer, the devout life, out of the cloisters and gave the best guidance the Church could devise to those who were living secular lives. Just such a hunger for the love of God as made lay men and women eager for de Sales' instructions in the 17th Century exists today. New books of instruction are being written, yet it is doubtful if any of them will surpass this well-proven guidebook.

The five sections of the book give a nearly comprehensive survey of the devotional life for beginners. In general the first two sections are devoted to a consideration of mental prayer and the last three to disciplines of the spiritual life. The orderly system of meditation presented in the second section has been the pattern for many other teachers of prayer and forms of it are to be found in nearly every volume dealing with prayer. The Salesian discussion of interior prayer is, however, more limited than that offered by such well known authorities as Bede Frost in his *Art of Mental Prayer* and Edward Leen in his *Progress Through Mental Prayer.*

Perhaps the finest part of the book is found in the sections on discipline or the conduct of the spiritual life that is lived in the midst of the world's activities. The wise counsels given three hundred and fifty years ago are still practical today, and since the problems are perennial they guarantee that this book will continue to be in demand. St. Francis wrote, "Always have at hand some approved book of devotion. . . . Read a little in it every day with as much devotion as if you were reading a letter that the saints had sent you from heaven to show you the way and to encourage you to come hither." He himself carried with him for twenty years a copy of Scupoli's *The Spiritual Combat* and at odd moments and at regular intervals throughout the day he read it. His own book might well meet the same need for those who

are endeavoring to lead the devout life.

The excellent introduction to this edition by Douglas Steere is in actuality the main justfication that the publishers have in calling it an edition for Protestants. Mr. Ryan has made a readable translation of what was undoubtedly a readable original, but the Catholic theology is still present and the Protestant reader is called upon to make an adjustment to it. Also the older religious phraseology is still used too frequently, whereas one might hope that the translator could have found words that were more meaningful in modern parlance. These are minor criticisms, however, and one can rejoice that interest in the spiritual life is great enough to warrant yet another, and a very good, edition of an old classic.

—Francis B. Hall

PAMPHLETS

Guilt, by Gerhard Ockel. Pendle Hill, 1951. 31 pp., 35c.

In this essay, the psychological and religious significance of the guilt feeling is analyzed with a somewhat Jungian approach. The author is a Quaker psychotherapist.

Christ—Power and Peacemaker, by Hugh Faulkner. British FOR, 1951. 8 pp., 10c.

Christ, as teacher, pattern and power, holds the clue to today, for His world was essentially identical with ours.

You and the Atom Bomb, by Cyril Hughes. London: Peace Pledge Union. Free.

A three-page leaflet explaining just what the well-behaved citizen will do during that widely apprehended A-instant—that is, if he remembers to have a sense a humor.

War or Settlement in the Far East? by Victor Purcell, London: National Peace Council. 12 pp., 10c.

A clean, diagnostic argument in favor of a more particularized regard by Westerners for Asiatic countries and the problems distinctive to each.

BRIEFLY NOTED

Serving Rural Puerto Rico, by Justus G. Holsinger. Mennonite Publishing House, 1952. 232 pp., $2.75.

The desperately poor little island of Puerto Rico was the scene of three Civilian Public Service units during the war. The Mennonites, Brethren and Friends each agreed to take responsibility for one of the rural medical stations already set up by the government. Since the war and the end of CPS the Mennonites have continued to work in Puerto Rico. This is an account of the whole adventure, by a man who directed the first unit and returned, after discharge from CPS, to work there after the war.

In the Name of Christ, by John D. Unruh. Mennonite Publishing House, 1952. 400 pp., $3.75.

A history of the Mennonite Central Committee, founded in 1920 to meet the problem of the physical need of Russian Mennonites in the revolutionary period following World War I, it continues through and after World War II. It includes the CPS experience, transplanting of Mennonite refugees from Europe to South America, the voluntary service units that grew out of CPS, and many other aspects of a valuable and interesting work. —C. M. H.

Letters

A Fuller Story

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP

A short time ago I received in the mail a copy of the March 1952 FELLOWSHIP. The issue was so folded that, when I withdrew it, the heading of the article "Private View of a Public Man" was the first thing to catch my attention. It was immediately evident to me that the magazine had been sent at the behest of some friend who was aware of my relationship as brother of the subject of the article [Leyton Richards]. I am writing this note in the hope that it may reach that friend and convey my sincere thanks for the kind remembrance of me which it indicated.

The article deals exclusively with the period 1914 to 1916, which years were indeed rugged ones in the fight for vindication of the fundamental values for which my brother contended. To my surprise it concludes with the words "His resignation (from the church at Bowden) therefore stood." To the average reader that conclusion would imply that the battle was lost, or at any rate, that it was ended; it has the tone of defeatism. . . .

Why stop the article there? The book does not end with that resignation, it proceeds to tell a most significant sequel. There followed a few years of activity in other fields, during which he continued his efforts on behalf of the cause. The war had ended and a period of readjustment had started, but the Bowden church was still without a minister. Several men had been considered by the members as candidates for the position, but opinions pro and con were much divided till, at last, it was proposed to invite their former minister to return. The invitation was unanimous and was accepted. So, after those few years without a minister, the only man on whom the members could wholeheartedly and unanimously bestow their allegiance was the one who they knew from experience would not compromise on a faith which he knew to be right.

But the story does not end even there. It goes to tell how in 1923 he became the minister of the church which was recognized as the leading congregational church in England outside of the city of London, the pulpit of which had always been in the forefront as a power for good in the land. There, for nearly two decades, he continued unflinchingly to set forth and uphold the gospel of peace which was so dear to him.

I need not continue further; the book tells the story—and tells it well. Its later chapters are as important as the earlier ones, so it seems a pity that your review should close with the reciting of the group of events which, remarkable as they were, proved to be but the beginning of a remarkable life, capably devoted throughout to the noble cause which he served so well.

CARL P. RICHARDS
Salem, Oregon

A Criticism

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP

Many very fine articles appear in FELLOWSHIP from time to time which deserve praise and positive comment. Mr. Bullock's article "Punishment Doesn't Work," however, does not measure up to

your usual high standards, in my opinion. It does not compare favorably, for example, with Margaret Morgan Lawrence's article, "Pacifists at Home" (Feb. 1952), which dealt with a related subject area.

In reference to Mr. Bullock's article, I would like to make a sincere recommendation that FELLOWSHIP not try to assume the function of a professional scientific journal. The article started off by making a dubious assumption and then proceeded to draw some unwarranted, dogmatic conclusions. "Punishment," the article states, "usually is used to try to eliminate only bad habits that are strong (responses that occur frequently). . . ." This is indeed a questionable assumption. Punishment more often, it seems to me, is applied after single aberrations and to *prevent* development of strong anti-social habits.

Furthermore, statements like "experiments did conclusively show" do not reflect the true scientific spirit, and well-disciplined scientists make their generalizations with much caution and within rigidly prescribed bounds. While Mr. Bullock warns of using "due caution," the article gives no evidence of its use.

This is not a criticism of Estes' scientific experiment as such; it may have been a creditable one and may have made a worthwhile contribution to the study of psychology (back in its day—1944). I confess, however, to personal skepticism of "rat psychology" and am inclined to suspect that it demonstrates primarily one thing—the psychology of rats. "Assuming that the rat . . . behaves in many ways like a human" is to ignore most of the peculiar qualities that characterize the human being. He has only the barest, minimal biological functions in common with the simple rat, and to generalize from hungry rats to human beings with a highly complex emotional and spiritual make-up, living in an extremely complex culture, seems rather ridiculous.

What really is meant by punishment? All societies employ many kinds in carrying out their essential function of social control. They may range all the way from "withdrawal of approval" by a loving parent from an innocent child in the normal process of socialization, to hydrogen bomb warfare. Does Mr. Bullock have reference to war? To corporal punishment? To incarceration? To parental disapproval? He does not say. The implication is that any punishment is undesirable and ineffective.

The problems of law and order, of formal and informal methods of social control, seem to me ones which many pacifists are not facing squarely, and certainly ones to which no one has complete answers. I, too, strongly believe that somewhere in the philosophy of redemptive love and nonviolence espoused by Jesus and Gandhi lie the answers. Mr. Bullock's article did nothing to strengthen or substantiate my conviction.

H. R. DICK
Lincoln, Nebraska

Answer to Taxes

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

For years I noticed the letters on tax-refusal, thinking that someone would mention the very obvious answer to the situation for young couples, but no one has. The only time I remember paying any tax that wasn't refunded by the government at the end of the year was the first year we were married.

The answer is simply this—have a big family. It pays marvelous dividends in both happiness and deductions. We have five children—that's $4,900 in deductions right then. Add to that benevolence, interest on house loans, etc., and the government will end up owing you money.

Children are always challenging and interesting, and we believe there is no better way to work for peace than to try to raise children who have friends of

every race, who are concerned about the problem of war, and who are interested in helping children overseas or in corresponding with friends of similar interest all over the world.

This argument over tax-refusal seems rather academic to me, for realistically there is no way you can prevent the government from seizing money that is owed it. Furthermore we believe in the principle of taxation in a democratic government. What if the people who had no children refused to pay school taxes? (My husband is a school-teacher.) Or those who didn't want new highways turned down the gasoline taxes? The government has a right to tax people for things that a majority want. And if we face facts, we realize that a majority want high military spending. Our problem is to change the minds of the majority. And there's no more effective way than to begin with our children.

Since I am not of the ascetic character I like our way of avoiding the income tax. We have a family we enjoy, a large comfortable home and lots of fun in life. You young couples—why don't you try our way too?

MARJORIE GARRISON
Pasadena, California

P.S.—This discovery was purely unintentional, I assure you. It just dawned on us that our family has kept pace with an increasing income and we have none of the income-tax problems that seem to bother other COs. Of course, we got a head start, for the end of CPS days found us with two children.

From New Zealand

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

Thank you very much for the FELLOWSHIP magazines and other pamphlets you so kindly sent me. We have enjoyed them very much indeed.

We have formed a little organization ourselves in Christchurch we call "The Bon." B.O.N. stands for Brotherhood of Nations. We are only fifteen members at present, trying to promote brotherly love and good will by correspondence. We have been astounded at the number of such organizations throughout the world. It was through a correspondent in Holland we heard of your address. I gather from the material you sent me that your organization has the same ideals as our little one here. There must be millions of ordinary people like us all over the world who just wish one another well.

Do you know any married women in America wishing pen friends? I would like to correspond with some American women. Here in New Zealand we find people are not always too kindly feeling towards America. Folks are too apt to judge the ordinary people by America's foreign policy and blame the man in the street for things we don't understand. If you know of anyone you might be kind enough to pass on my name. I am 41 years of age, married, with one daughter 15½ years of age at secondary school.

MRS. M. ADCOCK
329 River Road, Richmond
Christchurch, New Zealand

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

As an AFSC worker in France and Germany 1947-9 I was greatly interested and impressed by Roy Kepler's article "Close-Up of France."

Perhaps others would also like to hear more particulars of a pacifist's chances for a Fulbright and how Roy felt about swearing allegiance to the government in applying for a passport.

HOLLIS WYMAN

[Pacifists applying for passports usually incorporate in their pledge to defend the Constitution, etc., an explicit, written

reservation in some such words as "in ways not inconsistent with my conscientious convictions."—Ed.]

Possible Cushion

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP

With increasing international tensions there are bound to be new pressures on CO's and their families that will result many times in prison terms and loss of incomes. At every pacifist conference I've attended in the past two years I've noted that pacifists are seeking ways to cushion the shock of economic insecurity. Much has been said concerning co-ops as a possible solution. The only trouble here is that many of us feel the need for pacifists to be scattered out to spread their gospel rather than being located in one large community. Therefore, I put forth this suggestion.

Why not have a group of pacifists own and control a co-op together with only one or two families living on the property to keep it going for the other members. Meanwhile the other members could live at large and put a few dollars a month into the co-op to help maintain it for emergencies. Then if a man should lose his job or go to prison for his pacifist leanings, his family could immediately move into the co-op and help with the work. In that way there need be little hardship for our families when we stand up strongly for our convictions. I'm thinking particularly in terms of farm co-ops.

If anyone is interested in helping to build such a haven of security, I invite them to write to:

Bob Stowell
Calais, Vermont

or to me. Bob has a small farm and is interested in turning it into a pacifist co-op. He liked the idea I expressed.

KENNETH REDFEARN
Wakefield, Kansas

BEAVERS—cont'd from page 13

of the Beaver effort. These, together with the daily slow shaping and growth of a new social structure point to a society where people work together for a common purpose, dream together in their concern for "thou" who is "I," and rediscover together true values such as space, silence, sun, trees and fellowship.

Here again, just as in Israel's kibbutzim and in the French Communities of Work, it is necessity, urgency, intolerable suffering that motivated the search for another way of life. The pattern that emerges spontaneously is again a marked departure from the world of catering to the individual ego. It is also entirely removed from the mass housing projects well known in America, whether dressed up as in suburban areas, or looking like ghastly concentration camps, as in Oak Ridge or Wichita.

Dealers in raw materials, workers in the building trade, architects, engineers, city planners, everybody is interested in the Beavers. Anywhere in France, a Beaver group means work for many trades. But happiest of all are the Beavers themselves, who live a thrilling adventure.

AIDEEN MACLENNON

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Poster

addressed to men of draft age, tells of provision for COs in the draft act, and urges them, if they want information or other assistance, to write the Central Committee for COs. Space is left for local groups or organizations to fill in their own names and addresses as well.

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